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LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN,*

(GILGIT, YASIN, HUNZA, NAGYR, CHITRÁL, &C., AND KAFIRISTAN).

197 I. DARDU LEGENDS, *in Shiná* (the language, with dialectic modifications, of Gilgit, Astor, Guraiz, Chilás, Hódur, Dareyl, Tangir, etc., and the language of historical songs in Hunza and Nagyr).

(Committed to writing for the first time in 1866,
By DR. G. W. LEITNER,
212 *from the dictation of Dards. This race has no written character of its own.)*

A.—DEMONS = YATSH [1] (YUECCI ?).

776 DEMONS are of a gigantic size, and have only *one eye, which is on the forehead.* They used to rule over the [177] mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses. Since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, the demons have relinquished their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers.

776 They do not walk by day, but confine themselves to 823 promenading at night. A spot is shown near Astor, at a village called Bulent, where five large mounds are pointed out which have somewhat the shape of huge baskets. Their existence is explained as follows. A Zemindar (cultivator) at Grukōt, a village farther on, on the Kashmir road, had, with great trouble, sifted his grain for storing, and had put it into baskets and sacks. He then went away. The demons came—five in number—carrying huge leather-

101 * "Dardistan," or the country of the Daradas of Hindu mythology, embraces, in the narrowest sense of the term, the Shiná-speaking countries (Gilgit, &c.); in a wider sense, Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, and Chitrál; and in the widest, also parts of Kafiristan. (See my "Dardistan," part III.)

[1] "Yatsh" means "bad" in Kashmiri.

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776 823 sacks, into which they put the grain. They then went to a place which is still pointed out and called "*Gué* Gutumé Yatsheyn gau boki," or "The place of the demons' loads at the holow"—Gué being the Shiná name for the present village of Grukŏt. There they brought up a huge flat stone—which is still shown—and made it into a kind of pan, "tawa," for the preparation of bread. But the morning dawned and obliged them to disappear; they converted the sacks and their contents into earthen mounds, which have the shape of baskets and are still shown.

1.—The Wedding of Demons.

776 539 A Shikari (sportsman) was once hunting in the hills. He had taken provisions with him for five days. On the sixth day he found himself without any food. Excited and fatigued by his fruitless expedition, he wandered into the deepest mountain recesses, careless whither he went as long as he could find water to assuage his thirst, and a few wild berries to allay his hunger. Even that search was unsuccessful, and, tired and hungry, he endeavoured to compose himself to sleep. Even that comfort was denied him, and, nearly maddened with the situation, he again arose and looked around him. It was the first or second hour of night, and, at a short distance, he descried a large fire blazing a most cheerful welcome to the hungry, and now chilled, wanderer. He approached it quietly, hoping to meet some other sportsman who might provide him with food. Coming near the fire, he saw a very large and curious assembly of giants, eating, drinking, and singing. In great terror, he wanted to make his way back, when one of the assembly, who had a squint in his eye, got up for the purpose of fetching water for the others. He overtook him, and asked him whether he was a "child of man." Half dead with terror, he could scarcely answer that he was, when the demon invited him to join them at the meeting, which was described to be a wedding party. The Shikari replied: "You are a demon, and will destroy me"; on which the spirit took an oath, *by the sun and the moon*, that

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he certainly would not do so. He then hid him under a bush and went back with the water. He had scarcely returned when a plant was torn out of the ground and a small aperture was made, into which the giants managed to throw all their property, and, gradually making themselves thinner and thinner, themselves vanished into the ground through it. Our sportsman was then taken by the hand by the friendly demon, and, before he knew how, he himself glided through the hole and found himself in a huge apartment, which was splendidly illuminated. He was placed in a corner where he could not be observed. He received some food, and gazed in mute astonishment on the assembled spirits. At last, he saw the mother of the bride taking her daughter's head into her lap and weeping bitterly at the prospect of her departure into another household. Unable to control her grief, and in compliance with an old Shin custom, she began the singing of the evening by launching into the following strains:

SONG OF THE MOTHER.

ORIGINAL:—

Ajjeyn Birâni![2] *mey palise, shikk sanéy,*
(Thy) mother's Birâni! my little darling, ornaments will wear,
Inne Buldar Bútshe angai tapp bey hani,
(Whilst) here at Buldar Bútshe the heavens dark will become,
Nágeri Phall Tshátshe Kani mirâni in,
The Nagari (of race) Phall Tshátshe of Khans the prince will come,
Téyn Mirkân málose tshé gûm bagéy,
Thy Mirkan father-from new corn will be distributed.
Sátti Yabeo wey bo! Shadú Malik bojum théum.
Seven rivers' water be! Shadu Malik a going will make,
Tey Mirkann malo Tshe gi bage.
Thy Mirkann, father, now ghee will distribute.

TRANSLATION:—

"Oh, Birâni, thy mother's own; thou, little darling, wilt wear ornaments, whilst to me, who will remain here at Buldar Butshe, the heavens will appear dark. The prince of Lords of Phall Tshatshe race is coming from Nagyr; and Mirkann, thy father, now distributes corn (as an act of welcome). Be (as fruitful and pleasant) as the water of *seven rivers*, for Shadu Malik (the prince) is determined to start, and now thy father Mirkann is distributing ghee (as a compliment to the departing guest)."

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[2] The father's name was Mir Khan. The daughter's name was Birani. The bridegroom's name was Shadu Malik of Nagyr, of Phall Tshatshe race, and the place of the wedding was Buldar Butshe.

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776 539 The Shikari began to enjoy the scene and would have liked to have stayed, but his squinting friend told him now that he could not be allowed to remain any longer. So he got up, but before again vanishing through the above-mentioned aperture into the human world, he took a good look at the demons. To his astonishment he beheld on the shoulders of one a shawl which he had safely left at home. Another held his gun; a third was eating out of his own dishes; one had his many-coloured stockings on, and another disported himself in pidjamas (drawers) which he only ventured to put on, on great occasions. He also saw many of the things that had excited his admiration among the property of his neighbours in his native village, being most familiarly used by the demons. He scarcely could be got to move away, but his friendly guide took hold of him and brought him again to the place where he had first met him. On taking leave he gave him three loaves of bread. As his village was far off, he consumed two of the loaves on the road. On reaching home, he found his father, who had been getting rather anxious at his prolonged absence. To him he told all that had happened, and showed him the remaining loaf, of which the old man ate half. His mother, a good housewife, took the remaining half and threw it into a large granary, where, as it was the season of Sharó (autumn), a sufficient store of flour had been placed for the use of the family during the winter. Strange to say, that half-loaf brought luck, for demons mean it sometimes kindly to the children of men, and only hurt them when they consider themselves offended. The granary remained always full, and the people of the village rejoiced with the family, for they were liked and were good people.

It also should be told that as soon as the Shikari came home he looked after his costly shawl, dishes, and clothes, but he found all in its proper place and perfectly uninjured. On inquiring amongst his neighbours he also found that they too had not lost anything. He was much astonished at all this, till an old woman who had a great reputation for wisdom,

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told him that this was the custom of demons, and that they invariably borrowed the property of mankind for their weddings, and as invariably restored it. On occasions of rejoicings amongst them they felt kindly towards mankind.

Thus ends one of the prettiest tales that I have heard.

2.—The Demon's Present of Coals is Turned into Gold.

Something similar to what has just been related, is said to have happened at Doyur, on the road from Gilgit to Nagyr. A man of the name of Phûko had a son named Laskirr, who, one day going out to fetch water was caught by a Yatsh, who tore up a plant ("reeds" ?) "phuru" and entered with the lad into the fissure which was thereby created. He brought him to a large palace in which a number of goblins, male and female, were diverting themselves. He there saw all the valuables of the inhabitants of his village. A wedding was being celebrated and the mother sang:—

Gúm bagé déy, Buduléy Khatúni.
Gúm bagé déy, huhá huhá!!
Gí bagé déy, Buduléy Khatúnise.
Gí bagé déy, huhá huhá!!
Motz bagé déy, Buduléy Khatúni.
Motz bagé déy, huhá huhá!!
Mô bagé déy, huhá huhá!! &c., &c.

Translation:—

Corn is being distributed, daughter of Budul.
Corn is being distributed, hurrah! hurrah! (*Chorus.*)
Ghee is being distributed, &c. (*Chorus.*)
Meat is being distributed, &c. (*Chorus.*)
Wine is being distributed, &c., &c. (*Chorus.*)

On his departure, the demon gave him a sackful of coals, and conducted him through the aperture made by the tearing up of the reed, towards his village. The moment the demon had left, the boy emptied the sack of the coals and went home, when he told his father what had happened. In the emptied sack they found a small bit of coal, which, as soon as they touched it, became a gold coin, very much to the regret of the boy's father, who would have liked his son to have brought home the whole sackful.

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B.—"Barai," "Peris," "Fairies."

776 539 They are handsome, in contradistinction to the Yatsh or Demons, and stronger; they have a beautiful castle on the top of the Nanga Parbat or Dyarmul (so called from being inaccessible). This castle is made of crystal, and the people fancy they can see it. They call it "Shell-batte-kōt" or "Castle of Glass-stone."

1.—The Sportsman and the Castle of the Fairies.

Once a sportsman ventured up the Nanga Parbat. To his surprise he found no difficulty, and venturing farther and farther, he at last reached the top. There he saw a beautiful castle made of glass, and pushing one of the doors he entered it, and found himself in a most magnificent apartment. Through it he saw an open space that appeared to be the garden of the castle, but there was in it only one tree of excessive height, and which was entirely composed of pearls and corals. The delighted sportsman filled his sack in which he carried his corn, and left the place, hoping to enrich himself by the sale of the pearls. As he was going out of the door he saw an innumerable crowd of serpents following him. In his agitation he shouldered the sack and attempted to run, when a pearl fell out. It was eagerly swallowed by a serpent which immediately disappeared. The sportsman, glad to get rid of his pursuers at any price, threw pearl after pearl to them, and in every case it had the desired effect. At last, only one serpent remained, but for her (a fairy in that shape?) he found no pearl; and urged on by fear, he hastened to his village, Tarsing, which is at the very foot of the Nanga Parbat. On entering his house, he found it in great agitation; bread was being distributed to the poor as they do at funerals, for his family had given him up as lost. The serpent still followed and stopped at the door. In despair, the man threw the corn-sack at her, when lo! a pearl glided out. It was eagerly swallowed by the serpent, which immediately disappeared. However, the man was not the same being as before. He was ill for days, and in about a fortnight after the events narrated, died, for fairies never forgive a man who has surprised their secrets.

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2.—The Fairy who Punishid her Human Lover.

It is not believed in Astor that fairies ever marry human beings, but in Gilgit there is a legend to that effect. A famous sportsman, Kibá Lorí, who never returned empty-handed from any excursion, kept company with a fairy to whom he was deeply attached. Once in the hot weather the fairy said to him not to go out shooting during "the seven days of the summer," "Canicular," which are called "Bardá," and are supposed to be the hottest days in Dardistan. "I am," said she, "obliged to leave you for that period, and, mind, you do not follow me.' The sportsman promised obedience and the fairy vanished, saying that he would certainly die if he attempted to follow her. Our love-intoxicated Nimrod, however, could not endure her absence. On the fourth day he shouldered his gun and went out with the hope of meeting her. Crossing a range, he came upon a plain, where he saw an immense gathering of game of all sorts and his beloved fairy milking a "Kill" (markhor) and gathering the milk into a silver vessel. The noise which Kibá Lorí made caused the animal to start and to strike out with his legs, which upset the silver vessel. The fairy looked up, and to her anger beheld the disobedient lover. She went up to him and, after reproaching him, struck him in the face. But she had scarcely done so when despair mastered her heart, and she cried out in the deepest anguish that "he now must die within four days." "However," she said, "do shoot one of these animals, so that people may not say that you have returned empty-handed." The poor man returned crestfallen to his home, lay down, and died on the fourth day.

C.—Dayall = Wizards and Witches.

The gift of second sight, or rather the intercourse with fairies, is confined to a few families in which it is hereditary. The wizard is made to inhale the fumes of a fire which is lit with the wood of the *tshili*[3] (Panjabi = Padam), a kind

[3] Elsewhere called *tshi*.

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lips of the cavern were closed, and the three men imprisoned in it. God converted the three into bees, whilst the two who had gone to fetch water fled towards Afghanistan. Thus were created the first honey-bees, who, finding their way out of the cavern, spread themselves and their sweet gift all over the world. This is a story told by the Kalàsh, who credit that the bees are there still; but it is difficult to get there, as the mountains are too steep, but people go near it and, pushing long rods into the hole of the cavern, bring them back covered with honey. 539

Shah Muhterim is the name of a Mehter (prince), the grandfather of the present Ruler of Chitrár. This Mehter was renowned as a descendant of fairies, who all were under his command. Whatever he ordered the fairies did. Thus some time passed. From among them he married a fairy, with whom he made many excursions. She bore him a daughter. Seven generations have passed since that time. This daughter is still alive, and her sign among the fairies is that her hair is white, which does not happen to ordinary fairies. Whenever a descendant of the Shah Muhterim leaves this transitory world for the region of permanence, all the fairies, who reside in the mountains of Chitrár, together with that white-haired lady, weep and lament, and their voices are clearly heard. This statement is sure and true, and all the men on the frontiers of Chitrár are aware of the above fact. 539 776

THE PEOPLE OF AUJER (THE BŒOTIA OF CHITRAL). 539

There is a country "Aujer," on the frontier of Chitrár (or Chitrāl as we call it), the inhabitants of which in ancient times were renowned for their stupidity. One had taken service at Chitrár, and at a certain public dinner noticed that the King (Padishah) ate nothing. So he thought that it was because the others had not given anything to the king. This made him very sorry. He left the assembly, and reached home towards evening; there he prepared a

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eye, rain-making, cures, and so on, I shall not here attempt to deal. 128

The first or animate category may be analysed as including :—

1. Beings whose supernatural operations are observable in ordinary daily life—the LIVING SUPERNATURAL. These may be superhuman or non-human beings, or they may be ordinary human beings.

2. Beings whose operations are chiefly found embalmed in folk tales—the "LEGENDARY" or "LITERARY" SUPERNATURAL. These may be regarded as superhuman or non-human.

At the top of the scale of the Superhuman, the GOD of Islam under his Persian name KHUDA appears to have ousted all rivals. Only among the Burushaski-speaking peoples are there traces of more primitive animal spirits, or spirits assuming animal forms, treated as objects of reverence or worship. The name under which their memory has been preserved is Bōyo. This I believe to be the plural of a singular form Bō.in, but I should just mention that this is a point on which doubt is possible. 776

Among the Ṣhina speakers the principal forms of superhuman being are sometimes referred to collectively in a phrase of association as "Jinn, dē.ū, peri".

Jinn as a foreign (Arabic) word of Islamic origin is given rather a wide and vague application, but Dē.ūs and Peri can be roughly differentiated as demons and fairies.

The term Rāçḥ is generally used of inanimate protective objects, which belong to the impersonal side of magic, but in the form Rāçḥi it possesses also a personal significance. 778

Çhèçḥ is the name of an important type of apparitional supernatural. 775

Whether Ghosts, the Spirits of the Dead, are to be reckoned as human or superhuman is a nice question. They are, I suppose, in fact sub-human. They seem to be recognized under the foreign (Arabic) title of Arwāḥ, but to play no very active part in popular belief.

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Yaçh and Yaçhōlo still receive attention in some localities as beings capable of affecting, at least prejudicially, the prosperity of the crops.

Turning now to purely human beings gifted with supernatural powers we find two principal representatives of the class: the Rū.i, a woman displaying some of the powers and proclivities of the western witch, and the Daiyāl, a person of either sex endowed with some of the abilities of the Seer and the Prophet.

There are also the possessors of the Evil Eye, voluntary or involuntary, and there are persons who have acquired powers of magic (çhíla).

These are the principal Dramatis Personæ of the Living Supernatural, and we may now examine their peculiarities in somewhat greater detail, paying particular attention to the Bōyo, the Çhèçh and the Rū.i, partly because of their peculiarly local character, as signalized by their purely local names, and partly because of their intrinsic importance.

The Bōyo

From what I have heard I very much fear that the Bōyo are as extinct as the Dodo, though their extinction is of quite recent date. Perhaps they still enjoy a tenuous existence in the phantasies of some elderly minds, but their day of power and awe is gone, their cult is dead, and their worshippers departed.

From the little information I possess it appears that the Bōyo lived in holes at the foot of trees and rocks; and that the cult consisted in placing offerings of food, at any rate of slaughtered animals, at the foot of the trees, i.e. presumably in front of the holes. The Bōyo themselves are described as puppies, or animals like puppies, so this simple form of worship was probably acceptable to them. At any rate they condescended to eat the offerings.

There were Bōyo in residence at a spot on the Dadimo Lat a little above the fort at Hīndi, and the cult was maintained

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there by the local people till a few years ago, when it was stopped, I think, by the orders of the Mīr of Hunza. Animals were slaughtered there " in the name of the Bōyo ".

From a story of Hunza tribal history it appears that the Bōyo were regarded as the avengers of broken oaths taken in their names. In a dispute about the ownership of land between two brothers Khuru and Khamer, Khamer proposed that the case should be decided by their taking oath. Khuru, the weaker party, who was also incidentally in the right, agreed and said: " O brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hālasa Bō.in are very powerful and they are quick to wrath." But Khamer, who meditated a ramp and had no mind to be caught in this way, would not even hear this proposal out. " If we swear by them," he said, " they will work us evil." So the idea was dropped and with it disappeared our chance of learning the methods of taking oath by the Bōyo.[1]

The Bōyo now bear the stigma attaching to the gods of a superseded religion. " Bōyo-worshipper " (bōyo ū.llikinas) is now used in the sense of *heathen, pagan*.

There seems to be a special association between the Bōyo and trees, and the trees share in their sanctity. Whether they each have their own independent virtue, or whether the one owes its worshipfulness in any measure to the merits of the other it is impossible to say.

In the two remaining texts in which I have references to the Bōyo the associate tree plays an important part. In a statement made in Ṣhiṇa by Ṣūbahdār Sulṭān 'Ali of Nagir regarding certain popular practices at Chaprōt he said: " Further they say that all the people used to assemble to do worship to a pine-tree that was there. They used to take a grey goat and slay it at the foot of the tree and a great

[1] I have here accepted the relation of Bō.in and Bōyō as singular and plural which is morphologically quite in order, and is asserted by some, though denied by other, authorities. The word bō.in seems to survive in bō.indūrgas (pl. bō.in dūrgaṣho) which was explained as arwāh—the spirits of the dead. Dūrg-, occurring in other compounds, appears to refer to a dead person.

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number of puppy-dogs used to come out from below the pine-tree to drink up the blood. Then the people used to return rejoicing to their homes, and they used to say among themselves: 'Thanks be! Sickness has now been banished from the country.'"

Here it is stated that the tree is worshipped, but that the puppies, who are doubtless the Bōyo, benefit by the sacrifice. The Ṣhiṇa word (śilō.iki) translated "worship" means to *appease, placate, propitiate, do reverence to.* It corresponds, I think, exactly to the Burushaski *-īlikinas.

The other story, in which the tree also plays the chief rôle, is briefly as follows: From ancient times there was a juniper-tree in the garden of a man called Keramo Derbēsh, living in the Dirāmiting territory. It was called the Bōyo Gal ("the Bōyo juniper"). It was said that formerly animals like puppy-dogs used to come out from under it. The people of Hunza used to propitiate them (worship them) and called them Bōyo. One, Bagher Tham, cut the tree down and he promptly died. Two stems grew up again from the stump and a man cut one of them. He became paralyzed and an idiot. A man called Māmad Shāh cut down the remaining bough and he fell down from a cliff and was killed. After this people were afraid to meddle with the tree and left one bough (not previously mentioned) unmolested. Last year and the preceding year (1923 and 1922) this bough was still *in situ*. Then a man Yaqīn, obtained permission from the owner (Keramo Derbēsh) and cut it down and took it to his house. But he had a dream in which a number of women appeared to him and asked him why he had cut down their juniper-tree, and intimidated him. In view of past history he became alarmed and returned the juniper bough to its original owner, Keramo Derbēsh, in whose house it now lies, for no one will venture to burn it.

Here we are left wondering whether there was any connection, other than topographical, between the juniper and the

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Bōyo, and whether the ladies who resented the ill-treatment of the tree were an original dream-invention of Yaqīn's or were personages already known to the public. 776 775

This is all the information I can give about the Bōyo. As far as I know they have no counterpart in the present-day beliefs of the Shina-speaking peoples.

We next come to the association of the JINN, DE.O, PERI. The name Jinn, as already stated, is not an authentic local title, but has been derived from Islamic sources. It is used rather vaguely for all beings of the apparitional order. The popular mind is probably not very clear about the exact nature of all the supernatural phenomena which it encounters, and welcomes a non-committal term carrying all the flavour of high religious sanction. There are many stories in which Jinn appear, and it is probable that the foreign name has brought with it some foreign conceptions and associations. I am inclined to regard them with suspicion, though in the main I believe them to be merely re-christened Cḥēcḥ and perhaps Dē.ōs. 776 777

Another foreign (Arabic) term, Balā, seems to be used even more vaguely for evil spirits or demons whose presence you suspect or perceive, but whom you have not yet clearly seen and to whom you cannot put a name.

On the other hand a third foreign (Arabic) name, Shaiṭān, seems to carry with it a more definite personality. Shaiṭān is a leader among malignant and malicious spirits, at least a demon with an individuality, the Devil, Satan. He is probably a foreign intruder. On these foreign or denationalized Devils whose antecedents are somewhat suspect I shall not here spend time.

I may just mention by way of illustration that if after "concocting" magic, a process which takes forty days, you then sit down in the open and draw a line round yourself on the ground, a Jinn will appear and try to frighten you. If you keep up your courage other Jinns, Dē.ōs and Peris will come and try to frighten you. Finally if you remain firm 776 789

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the King of the Jinns, Dē.ōs and Peris himself appears, confesses that he is in your power and enquires your wishes —and so on.

I think it is a pure coincidence that where I have the term Balā it occurs usually in conjunction with horses. A groom and a horse—both later in my service—had a thrilling experience with a Balā which it would take too long to relate here, but the principle involved was elsewhere stated to me as follows: "If one mounts a horse at night and rides anywhere, then if the horse sees a Balā it will refuse to go forward. If at this moment the rider looks over the horse's head between its ears the Balā will be visible to him."

The more frivolous character of the Devil, Shaiṭān, is shown in the following: If in certain circumstances you can snatch the cap off the Devil's head and take refuge in a masjid and avoid his efforts to seize you by the seat of your trousers and go off with them, then if you put on the Devil's cap you will be able to see him, but he will not be able to see you and others will not be able to see either you or him—a piquant if not very useful situation.

If these foreign—Arabic—names could be eliminated, as I confess I should like, I think it would be found that most of the beings rendered innominate, would readily gain admittance to the ranks of the Chēch and the Dē.ōs.

Dē.ō

The name Dē.ō, akin to the Sanskrit *deva-*, may be regarded as a legitimate Ṣhiṇa word. At any rate, its source need not be sought in Islam or Islamic influence.

Dē.ōs play a prominent part in the folktales of the country as demons, ogres, etc., usually of maleficent proclivities, but they also descend into legendary history. In the latter situation they probably represent a once locally dominant race which has died out or been absorbed. But that is probably only a later identification. Their origin must lie in or before the Folktale period which is presumably much

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earlier. This, however, is not the place to deal with the Dē.ū of myth or legend.

The Dē.ū of to-day is a shadowy and illusive being, scarcely to be isolated from the group of Jinn-dē.ū-pēri. He is evidently not endowed in the popular consciousness with a very definite or vivid personality. Demonic possession is usually attributed to Jinns, but it is noteworthy that there is the expression *dēcē.i dakḫal ṣḫātin*, denoting possession by a Dē.ū.

We know something of the general habits of the Dē.ū, which they share with their supernatural colleagues the Jinns and Peris. For instance, I have the following note among others: "At the time when the mulberries are ripe people do not eat them at midday. They say that Dē.ūs and Peris throw people down (from the trees at that hour)." It should be explained that people, especially children, climb into the trees to eat mulberries and other fruit, and that there are often accidents and broken limbs due to their falling down.

Again: "In summer-time Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris live in the open country. In autumn they come to inhabited places." And: "At the time when a woman has given birth they do not keep an adze close by in the house. If there is an adze at hand, and if it goes by night and opens the door and brings the Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is into the house, then the woman suffers injury." Why adzes go and open the door is duly explained (cp. p. 529).

It is possible by the "concoction of magic" followed by other rites to make the Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris subject to one. There was a man known as the Chīlègi Saiyid living a few years ago, and probably still alive, who had achieved this.

Such general facts could be multiplied, but I can recall no Ṣḫina account of any definite individual Dē.ū taking part in any actual exploit at the present day.

In Burushaski there is a word Pfūt (plural Pfūtū or Pfūtants) which is interpreted as Dē.ū or Jinn.

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In a long story the titles Būrum Pfūt and Dī.u Safīd, the "White Dīv", are used indifferently for a beneficent Dīv, but the story itself must be regarded as a foreign importation.

There is, however, another genuine local story in which Pfūtū play a principal part. The narrator explained them as Jinns, but the story must go far back to long before the time when the word jinn was known in the country, and Dē.ū would seem to be a more appropriate rendering. In this story a man had lost his goat and in searching for it he saw a light and came upon a party of Pfūts engaged in revels. He joined in their dancing and in the feasting which followed it. After the feast the Pfūts collected the skin and bones of the animal which they had eaten. The man concealed the rib which had fallen to his share and the Pfūts replaced it by an artificial wooden rib. Then they shook the bones up in the skin and a goat came to life. The man recognized it as his missing property. When he got home he found the goat awaiting him there, and when he slaughtered it he found it had a wooden rib. During this experience he learnt one of the Pfūts' tunes. It is still known and played in Hunza.

One curious point about this story is that the Pfūts were either indifferent to the presence of a human being, or oblivious of it, and there is no clue to their usual attitude towards man.

The Burushaski Dangalaṭas, and, in some aspects, the Bīlas, are probably to be regarded as female Dē.ūs.

Peri

When we come to the Peris we are on somewhat firmer ground. We know a good deal about their characteristics, and they do still on occasion enter into relations with human beings.

The resemblance of the word "Peri" to "fairy" is of course purely accidental, but there are actually points of similarity between Peris and western fairies, whether or not there is

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AVS Dard AVS

any blood relationship. The name is identical with the Persian word represented in Avestan by *pairika* to which there seems to be no recorded parallel in Sanskrit, but it is conceivable that in Ṣhiṇa it is an original and not a borrowed word.

However this may be, the Peris are quite firmly established under that title in popular belief in Gilgit, Chitrāl, and among the Paṭhans. The word is known in Burushaski, both in foreign stories and as a complimentary epithet for women and boys, but I have come on no Peris in the definitely local stories of Hunza and Nagir.

The Peris of the Ṣhiṇa-speaking peoples are of both sexes. The female is called a Peri and the male a Periān. They are not spoken of as "little folk", and appear in general to resemble human beings. They eat "pillau", as is attested by Pashūs (anti-witches) and others who have seen them. Their eyes are said to be vertical, that is with the axis set vertically. I fancy they have only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead as is recorded of Jinns and others, but I cannot quote authority for this. They can fly; but if cow-dung is thrown on a Peri, or if its clothes are held in the smoke of a cow-dung fire it becomes unable to move. This point is illustrated in a Burushaski story, which is, however, of foreign origin. I have only one instance of a Peri with a name: a Peri called Mādi is said to live on the mountain of Diāmer (Nanga Parbat).

Peris wear green clothing and consider that they have exclusive rights in that colour. Hence we are told: "If anyone puts on green clothes it is said that the Peris get angry and snatch at the man and crush him. The reason is this: the Peris say: 'Green garments are our clothing. Why have they put them on?' and they become angry."

This claim is supported by their human confidants, the Daiyāls. As witness: "Daiyāls say that when a Daiyāl dances the Peris come flying through the air and remain watching the people. The Daiyāls say, 'We understand

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

what the Peris say. We communicate it in songs to the people.' If the Daiyāl sees anyone wearing green clothes he gets angry. The reason for this is that the peris wear green clothes, they say, and therefore if any earthly being puts on green clothing the peris become angry and do him injury."

The attitude of the Peris towards ordinary mortals cannot be described as cordial or benevolent. For instance: "They say that if anyone goes to the desert at midday the peris will snatch at his eyes and make him blind."

If a new house proves to be poor or unlucky it may be due to the adverse influence of a Periān. Again: "When a woman, all of whose children have died, gives birth to a child the mother cuts the umbilical cord and licks the blood that comes from it. The reason for this is that over every woman there is a Peri woman. The Peri woman says, 'Now that this woman has drunk the blood of her child she will never do me any good,' and fearing the woman the Peri clears out."

Here the reluctance to relinquish power over a human being indicates how such power is prized. Various methods are employed to obtain it even to the point of stealing or carrying off children or adults. In this we have an important resemblance between the Peris and the fairies of the West. The following notes are relevant in this connection: "A *dernīji mā* (i.e. 'outside mother') is a fairy in the jungle who gives milk to a child and rears it. When the boy grows up he is a good mountaineer." In one known case the peri-fosterling says he only sees his Peri mother when he is alone.

"Ten or more years ago (i.e. counting from 1922) a boy was carried off by the Peris from Nāpur. His clothes were found on the hills but he has never returned again."

One of the grooms of the Assistant Political Agent, Chilās, made the following statement: "Every day (i.e. always) at the (end of the) dark period of the moon the peris carry me off. I see them and they see me. They say to me, 'You stay with us and we'll look after you well. If you don't

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

stay we'll throw you down from the mountain.' They thus put me in great fear and then *I* promise to stay." So far, however, he had apparently successfully evaded either staying or being thrown down from the mountain. 776●

Of the common motif of a man marrying a fairy wife I have only one example, and it does not contain the usual feature of the fairy wife imposing a prohibition on the man which he breaks to his undoing. In the Ṣhiṇa story the parties are more equally matched than usual, for the husband is a Daiyāl. Still he had the worst of it in the long run. 776 539

A Daiyāl of Herāmosh bewitched a peri and casting a spell on her hair tied it all up in knots. Then he married her and in due course they had a daughter. When the daughter grew up her father instructed her that if her mother ever asked her assistance in dealing with the population of her hair she should give it, but on no account should she undo the knots. One day when the mother and daughter were out with the goats the anticipated situation arose and the girl played her part. The mother then explained that her husband had been angry with her and had tied her hair in knots and she appealed to the girl as her daughter to undo them. In a moment of sympathy and forgetfulness the girl performed the service. Immediately the Peri slew all the goats and flew away carrying her daughter with her. The Daiyāl, on discovering his treble loss, remained where he was weeping and beating his breast.

I think it was in 1922 that Rājā Sifat Bahādur, Governor of Yasin, married a peri lady, presumably *in absentiâ*, but doubtless with all due ceremony. I believe that to his intimates he claimed to have seen her, but a youth, who was probably an epileptic and certainly a scoundrel, acted as go-between and the Peri's agent in the affair. The Rājā cannot have proved a wholly acceptable husband, as shortly after the wedding he had a fall at polo and broke some ribs. Later, I think, he damaged his knee, and before two years were out he was assassinated in Independent Territory. 776 588

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776 [588] I have recorded instances of human-peri marriages in Chitrāl, but that lies outside our present beat.

RĀÇḢ

776 778 The term rāçḥ, cf. the Sanskrit root *rakṣ-*, "to protect," is usually applied to material objects, which exercise protective powers over human beings. Among such objects are included articles worn as talismans. It is also said, however, that everyone has a guardian spirit in the form of a small girl—Rāçḥe Mulai.i, or Rāçḥi. There may be two of them. These Rāçḥi communicate with the Pashū or Anti-witch when their protégés are in danger.

Again, if a bad woman rides on a horse the horse's Rāçḥi is depressed. Here the Rāçḥi was explained as the *sitāra*, "star" or "fortune", but it is not therefore to be assumed that it is an impersonal abstraction. The conception of a man's "luck" or "fortune" as a living being who is sometimes asleep and sometimes awake is very common.

[171] In a Burushaski story there are three women who are the "Guardians" (rāçḥakūyo) of a king of Irān. They know his fate beforehand and how he can escape it, but are not in direct communication with him. This story, however, is obviously of foreign origin, at least in its existing form, and the guardian women are an integral part of it and could hardly have been introduced as an afterthought.

ÇḢÈÇḢ

776 [171] We now pass to a very active and vital group of the Living Supernatural—the Çḥèçḥ. The name is not identifiable as a foreign loan-word and has all the appearance of being good Ṣhiṇa. If I am right in believing the ch's to be cerebral, they would ordinarily correspond to Sanskrit kṣ or tr, but I cannot suggest a deriyation.

Çḥèçḥ appear to me to present features of interest and originality, but they may be commonplace to the instructed folklorist. I shall first mention some of the chief characteristics and then illustrate them by specific examples.

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A Ċhèċḥ is a sort of bogle which usually appears at night. 776
It is said to "fall"—*ċhèċḥ dijen*. A sound is sometimes heard and the Ċhèċḥ appears in the form of some animal, such as a horse, donkey, or cow, but sometimes as a human being. Sometimes it appears as a tall figure which reaches up to the sky and is swathed in white clothing—a guise which is also sometimes adopted by Jinns.

When a man sees a Ċhèċḥ he may faint with fear and fall [782]
to the ground. If, however, he can manage to preserve his courage and presence of mind and repeat the Call to Prayer (aẓān) the apparition will disappear. The people then reckon them to be Jinns.

Ċhèċḥ are commonly attached to particular localities, from which it appears they do not wander. There are many such Ċhèċḥ-haunted places in Gilgit proper as well as outside.

A Ċhèċḥ is known to frequent the garden of the Political Agency office. Another haunts the neighbourhood of the P.W.D. Staff Bungalow and has been seen by many people. Its beat extends from there to the Political Agency Office, a distance of a few hundred yards. Another haunts a tree in the garden of the Divisional Engineer's house in the same area. Some deserted houses above the Ranbīr Bāgh are the home of another.

A Ċhèċḥ has been seen by many near the European cemetery. My informant's brother once saw a man wearing black clothes in the cemetery. This apparition pursued him, kicked him, and flung him into an irrigation channel.

Ċhèċḥ, like ghosts, are rather addicted to graveyards. Many other Ċhèċḥ-haunted places could be mentioned.

The following are one or two well-authenticated stories of Ċhèċḥ and their doings. One night Ghulām Muhammad, Chaukidār (night-watchman), was sleeping in pursuance of his duty with his brother in the verandah of the Political Agent's Office in Gilgit. The brother used to give the following account, reported in slightly differing versions, of their experiences: "We were sleeping in the verandah of

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776 the office. I awoke at midnight and found a horse sitting beside me. It had an English saddle on. I thought it must belong to some visitor and have strayed. So I tied it up to a tree and kept my eye on it. Presently I saw that it had turned into a donkey, and it came and sat down beside my head. My big brother beat it and it went and sat down on the road and turned into a bull. My brother repeated the Call to Prayer and it disappeared."

Sarfarāz, Chaprāsi of the Political Agency Office, told me the following, which is compounded of two slightly differing versions: "There is a lot of earth near the door of our cow-house in Amperi, Gilgit. They say that there were formerly there a mother and six daughters. They are not there now. My father's younger brother says he had seen them himself. About the year 1915–16 one day the (elder) brother was going at night to another quarter. By the path he saw a thin little girl sitting on a big stone. He felt an instinctive fear of her. He said: 'The child came down to the path and caught hold of my hand. I pulled in the direction of my house, and it pulled in the direction of the byre. At last with a great effort I got my hand free and went on to my house. The girl said, "Go now, O man, your luck is great. You have escaped from me, otherwise I should have killed you here." She pointed out to him a spot, a few hundred yards further on and said her beat extended up to there. She said that she had a mother and six (five ?) sisters."

Sarfarāz, continuing, said: "My uncle returning thence to the house lost consciousness. They burned a lot of talismans and gave the Ākhund what he demanded, and my uncle recovered." Owing to this misadventure, however, none of the children of this senior brother survived, and on his death his land came to Sarfarāz. People advised him not to continue to live there, so he built a new house. At midnight a noise of cats is sometimes heard, but no cats are ever seen.

Here is another episode. "They say that a Ċhèċh appears

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at the Balbè Gīri on the way to Nōmal. Several times the men who carry the mails have seen it. One time when a zamīndār, Shukur Khān by name, carrying the mail approached the Balbè Gīri, a Balā came out on to the road and would not let him pass. Shukur Khān says: 'I remembered and prayed to God and blew on my body and said the Call to Prayer. Immediately the Balā left the road. I noticed its eye was in the middle of its forehead. I went along the road and it went up to the mulberry-tree at the roadside, and when I looked it disappeared. I spent the night at Nomal and early next morning came in to Gilgit.' Shukur Khān told the above story to his family."

There are other similar stories in which the apparition is called a Jinn, but it seems clear that the Jinn is of the Çhèçh variety. They merely did not happen to be related as instances of çhèçh phenomena.

It is possible that Çhèçh is in fact a sort of abstract term denoting something like "apparition" or, possibly, "fear." The use of the verb "fall" with it suggests such a significance.

Arwāh

Ghosts, or Spirits of the Dead, whether they rightly belong to the category of the Superhuman or not, may be disposed of here. I have only two notes regarding them, both recorded in English. Çhèçh, I was told, are often associated with graveyards and so also Arwāh (Spirits of the Dead), who are said to come out and hold meetings. At one of these re-unions they were dividing up some food. To one of those present they refused any share on the ground that his relatives on earth gave no offerings of food for the dead. The ghost so penalized repudiated responsibility. He said he had a son living and they should refer to him on the subject. One wonders whether after this the son had a Çhèçh or ghost experience.

I was further told that the Spirits of the Dead come and

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

carry you far away and do you injury. They enter into the skins of dead persons and so make their appearance.

Possibly ghosts sometimes figure as Ċhèċh or Jinns or are confused with them. There are tales of how people have had dealings with jinns masquerading in the forms of known human beings, but these are rather cases of the impersonation of actual living people.

YAÇH

The name Yaçh corresponds to the Sanskrit *yakṣa-*. Yaçh are probably to be regarded as a class of Dē.ū who are in some way interested in agriculture. I was given the following statement: "At the time of the removing of the crops (from the fields) the people make *mūl* in a dish and prepare a flavouring of bitter kernels which they add to it. They do this in the name of the Yaçh. They then add ghee to the mūl and eat it. They say 'The Yaçh is eating the Yaçh's mūl.' If they didn't prepare the Yaçh's mūl they say the Yaçh(s) would carry off the grain and not make it prosper." The last word rendered "Yaçh(s)" is peculiar in form and somewhat resembles the word for "bear", but the rendering given is probably correct.[1]

A note is given that the Yaçh will become unconscious if it eats a bitter thing. Hence no doubt the bitter kernels.

The Yaçh, so far as this custom goes, might be regarded as little more than an abstraction, a fertility, or anti-fertility, spirit of some kind, but there is one story told of a very active and practical Yaçh. It was given me as follows: "There is a man of Gurikōt (a place near Astōr) called Rozāli. They say that a Yaçh has formed a friendship with the wife of Rozāli. The Yaçh brings grain and goods from one place and another and collects them in Rozāli's house. They say if Rozāli scolds his wife or beats her some live stock or other in his house dies. For this reason the man does not scold his wife. If anything in the house goes astray or gets lost

[1] Cp. Yaçhōlo, p. 527, n.

2: Lorimer L-3 (1920-24) 1929 AV3 Dard AV3

he keeps quiet. The man has children, their appearance they say, is ill-favoured, like that of a Yaçḥ. The Yaçḥ lives in his house and he (Rozāli) is superior, they say, to all the Astōris in wealth. They say that the Yaçḥ is in Rozāli's house in the skin of a cat. They say that his wife's food every seven days is 24 eggs and 2 seers (4 lb.) of ghee. This matter is publicly known to all the people. A number of Astōri people have told us this story." The wife's diet seems rather limited in kind, but bread and vegetables are perhaps taken for granted.

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YAÇḤŌLO

The Yaçḥōlo,[1] by his name, must be some sort of cousin of the Yaçḥ, but he is a shadowy personage whose only known interests are agricultural. Here is all the information I have about him: "At the time of the reaping of the wheat and barley, in the name of the Yaçḥōlo they put some mūl (gruel) in a dish and carry it to some place in a field where there is a big stone and where they say the Yaçḥōlo is. The reason is this: they say, 'if we propitiate the Yaçḥōlo our wheat and barley will be plentiful.' Nowadays they do not do this in Gilgit (proper), but in Shināki places, e.g. Bagrōt, at places on both sides of the River (Sherōt, Shakiōt, and Bārgo), and at Herāmosh, in these places they do it."

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We may now pass on to the Human Supernatural, of whom the Rū.i and the Daīyāl are the chief. The term Rū.i is Ṣhiṇa. The Burushaski equivalent is Bīlas, but the word has also, I think, wider application. In Khowār the idea is, I believe, covered by the word Gūr.

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RU.I

The Rū.i is perhaps the most interesting of the whole Gilgit cast, and of her I happen to have particularly full

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[1] I have lately come on an isolated note: "Yaçḥōl, a demon like a bear."

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

V.

The Ceremony of Nagi Suchemi.

Nagi Suchemi is said to be a goddess who lived at Nangam in the Astore district, on a stone altar situated at the foot of the Nagishi hill. In former times cases of theft requiring settlement by oath were decided by the defendant's swearing on this sacred platform in the following manner. A man called Jungmi was specially appointed by the Rá to accompany the defendant to the place, receiving eight yards of cloth from the suspected person. A she-goat was killed on the altar and the meat cooked and eaten by all those present, in utensils which were always kept and are still kept there. The defendant had now to utter the following words loudly: "O Nagi Sochemi, inflict punishment upon me if I am guilty of the crime, but, if the plaintiff has laid a false claim upon me, be so kind as to inflict a calamity on him!" They then returned quietly to their homes in the darkness of night. None of the men who had attended this solemnity were allowed to appear in daylight before others of the village, and if by chance one of them showed himself to any villager, he had to repay whatever loss there arose from the theft, or from any untoward circumstance happening to the discoverer of the offending juryman at dawn of that day. For some days the case was left awaiting the decision of "Nagi Sochemi," and if in this period the suspected person suffered any kind of loss of property, of relatives, etc., he was adjudged guilty, and the total amount of loss by the theft was recovered from him and repaid to the plaintiff.

"Khuran" or "Majari."

In Chilas and in the adjacent valleys of Jalkot, Palas, Koli, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Harban, and Sazin, the disputes between two individuals or parties are settled by a peculiar ceremony called "Khuran" in Shinaki (Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Harban and Sazin), and "Majari" in Kohistan (Jalkot, Palas, and Koli). By this ceremony each of the opposite parties has to prove itself wealthier than the other, and whichever proves to be the poorer is forced to submit to the other. The ceremony is performed by each party giving food to all the villagers at a place called "Kai." Whichever party provides the larger feast gains the day, while the other must needs submit.

VI.

Danyals.

There are some men and women of these parts who are called Danyals. When they are worked up into a state of frenzy the giants and fairies instruct them concerning the future of the country, the chiefs, etc. Whenever a chief is inquisitive on the subject of his future, he sends for the Danyals as well as the local musicians. A bundle of green chili leaves is then brought, and some of these, with a little *ghi*, are put into a small fire and burnt in an enclosure set apart for the purpose. As soon as the smoke rises, one or two Danyals push their way towards the fire and begin to inhale the smoke, until

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

VII.

Omens.

Probably on account of the frequent attacks on Gilgit made by the chiefs of the surrounding States, certain signs and occurrences are considered to be omens among the Gilgitis. They are as follows:—

(1) If an unusually heavy rain falls at any season in Gilgit, it is supposed that the chief of Yasin will advance towards Gilgit.

(2) If innumerable kites are seen hovering over Gilgit, it is generally accepted that Gilgit is to be invaded by the Nagar people.

(3) If packs of wolves make frequent night visits into Gilgit, and inflict heavy losses among the flocks, it is affirmed that the chief of Hunza is certainly going to invade and plunder Gilgit.

(4) If the harvest be unusually abundant, it is believed that Gilgit will be attacked by the Punyal Chiefs.

VIII.

Lunar Eclipse.

The Gilgitis say that Grahn is the name of a giant, who is a lover of the moon. On the 14th of the lunar months, when the moon is in its full beauty, the Grahn, whenever he pleases, catches hold of the moon, leaving untouched only a part which contains a fig tree. At such time the people of these parts beat their iron pans (on which they cook bread) like drums and cry loudly, "O Grahn, we have brought a large force, beating drums against thee, leave her (the moon), or we will rush upon thee?"
In the meantime the eclipse ends, and they become happy at their success.

Solar Eclipse.

The Gilgit people say that whenever any good king dies or is banished from his country, the giant Grahn becomes angry against the sun, and darkens a whole or a part of his (the sun's) face as a sign of grief for the death or the banishment of such a good king.[1]

IX.

The Creation of the World.

It is said that the earth was at first enveloped in water, which was at some places frozen, and where some Yaths (giants) had taken their abode under Yamlo Hal Singh, their ruler. On a certain day they held a council for the purpose of bringing earth over the water. Their ruler said that the task was above their power but, however, he knew of a wolf called Bojare Shal who lived at a place named Milgamok (old ice) and who, owing to his great genius, would be able to perform this work. "Provision!," was first sent as a messenger by the Yaths, but the wolf refused to come, saying that he would not

[1] [In answer to a question regarding this name, the author of the paper informs me that the original word is *rogi*, which may also mean "fortune."—Ed.]

773 keep trust in Provision, who was a servant of everybody. On this the Yaths sent "Trust" to the wolf, and he came with him to the ruler of the Yaths. The object was explained to him and he said that a bird called Garai Patan, who lived on the snows on the Coxus Mountain, should be sent for at once. Provision was first made the messenger; but the bird declined to come; whereupon Trust was sent to him and he came to see Bojare Shal and Yamlo Hal Singh. Bojare Shal now sent for a mouse which lived close to his home. When everything was ready the wolf gave orders that Yamlo Hal Singh should stand in water as a pillar upon which Gorai Pattan should spread his wings, while the mouse by the making a hole into the ice should bring out and spread all the soil over the wings of Gorai Pattan. The orders were obeyed and the wings of the bird covered all the water, while the mouse brought out all the soil which was beneath the water. In this way the earth was turned over the water.

X.*

"Neelo But" (The Blue Stone).

643 778 There used to be at Gilgit a blue stone called "Neelo But," about a yard square, where the present telegraph office is situated. No king was acknowledged in the country unless he had resorted to it and prostrated himself before the stone. There and then the people adorned his head with a crown, swore fealty and tendered their allegiance. This was the day when all the better class would gather to see the new "Rá" perform all the ceremonies, and undergo all obligations considered necessary to the office of leader of the nation. This was done in order to secure their confidence by a man who was to become sole director over their destinies, among them being many who had taken an active part in bringing him to the throne and proclaiming him their chief.

When the ceremonies were over, all came one by one to kiss his hands, to receive his blessings and to bless him in return. They would then dance to the beating of drums, make merry, sing praises and recite poems describing the heroic deeds already performed by the Rá, his ancestors and others whose lives had become endeared to all by self-sacrifice in the cause of their country.

[787] The *dawyal* (soothsayer) was not left out on this occasion, for it was necessary to foretell the future of the king and his courtiers, and to exhibit the state of ecstacy that accompanies prophecy by the soothsayer. Before being dismissed at night all present partook of a feast; some were gratified with handsome *khilats* and other distinctions; some gratified by a gesture of kindliness.

The Ceremony of Shri Bai.

778 ● 776 842 782 Shri Bai is the name of a goddess who, as the people say, lived on a rock at Nangam, a village in the Astore district. The rock too is called Shri Bai, and is always kept covered with branches of juniper, while an attendant called "Boh Bin" resides there to look after it. Barren women used to sacrifice goats to and pray before the sacred stone in the hope of progeny. In the hot weather, when the people had gathered their

* [See also p. 109 *ante*.—Ed.]

crops, the female population of the village proceeded to the Devi in their best attire. They sang on their way, and when they reached their destination presented a goat to the "Boh Bin." He then threw up some small branches of the juniper in the air, and the women attempted to catch them before they fell to the ground. It was believed that a woman would be blessed with as many children as the branches she succeeded in catching. Descendants of the original "Boh Bin" still remain, but the ceremony is no longer observed.

A stone of this kind is also found at Barmas near Gilgit. The ceremony performed upon this stone was exactly the same as stated above, but it has a different name, *viz*: "Mulkum."

"Rato" or "Chili."

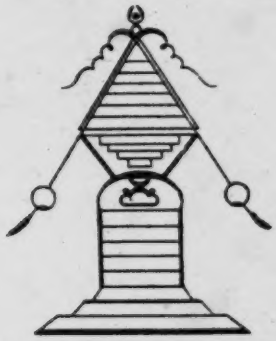
At Farfuh, a village in the Bagrot valley, there are five small portions of land situated at the foot of a mountain and called Chuto Rato, Shilo Rato, Surgon Rato, Chilko Rato and Thoko Rato. In these tracts there are five very large boulders and five small stones, called respectively "Dev-ai-Maron" and "Mos Samaran Ken" (*i.e.*, stone for distributing flesh). Here the "Rato" ceremony, also called "Chili," used to be performed as follows. During the first six days of the ceremony, which lasted for seven days, the people wore new and clean clothes, the sexes being separated and inhabiting different houses. On the seventh or the last day, all the people of the different communities or families of the village assembled separately and went to their respective "Ratos" with a goat and some young branches of the chili or *Juniperus macrocarpa*. These branches were placed upon the "Dev-ai-Maron," and the blood of the goat which was now sacrificed was thrown on. The meat was placed on the "Mos Samaran Ken" and distributed among those present, who roasted and ate it at the same place. It was never given to any woman or to a man of any family other than that of "Rato." The shoulder-blade of the goat killed was then placed on a high stone and fired at by marksmen amidst the noisy acclamations of the people, and a dance was held in honour of the sacred ceremony. After this the people assembled round the "Dev-ai-Maron," while the oldest man present or the headman of the village sat quite close to the stone and addressed it in the following manner: "O iron-like Rato, O Shri Bagartham, we have come to thee to express our wants. We have no progeny: kindly endow us with children. We are destitute of money: kindly favour us with gold and silver. We are in want of grain: please supply us." In the same manner he related all their desires for cattle, clothes, goods, etc., while the other men followed him and expressed their assent to what he said by crying "Amen." The women of the village now appeared in their best attire, with some dry flour and small flat loaves. They threw the *atta* on the *chili* branches and prayed in the same manner for the fulfilling of their desires. The loaves were distributed among the men, who eat and rejoiced. At some places the women were strictly prohibited from going near the Rato stone. This ceremony was performed and known by the same name throughout the whole of Gilgit, but on stones of different names, so that the stones at Datuchi and Bulchi were called "Aju Bin," at Sinakar "Shri Bin," at Gilgit and Dainyor "Rato-denaken," and at Naugam "Shri Bai." The

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

000 "Shri Bai" ceremony, performed with a slight difference at Naugam, will be dealt with separately.

Sculptured Stones.*

532 174 778 On the bank of the Indus river a big stone is seen about a mile's distance from the entrance of Botugah Nullah (Chilas Nullah) where there stand some boatmen's huts. It bears a figure of a Buddhist *Mane* [?]. The carving begins a little above the foot of the stone. In height it is a little larger than a man. Though faintly engraved, it is so skilfully whitened that, although it has been exposed for so long a time to the action



of the weather, its white colour is still to be remarked from a distance. On this rock there are also many other figures of the same kind, but they are somewhat smaller in size than the one above mentioned. Some two or three miles below this place, there are numerous stones of various sizes on the river bank bearing the figures of goats and markhors, &c. Some of the stones show representations of axes, while the others are those of deer. At some places the carvings are seen on the top of a stone as well as on its sides. The same kind of figures are also seen in the Bagrot Valley engraved on rock-faces between the Sanikar and Bulchi villages.[1]

At Barmas, near Damot, in the Sai valley, there are two pictures of Buddha. One is carved on a stone, and the other is a painting of Buddha sitting among his disciples.

At another place, in the neighbourhood of Chilas, there is a rock still larger in size, and on its river side there are a good many figures. There are also two or three carvings of temples with a large number of men, goats, horses and cows, &c., engraved on them. On this stone there is an inscription written in some ancient character. The same carvings are noticed for some way along the river, which here does not rise sufficiently in summer to do them any injury. It shows that in a certain period, this part of Chilas was inhabited by Buddhists. The inhabitants of Chilas are under the impression that all these inscriptions are made by the fairies.[2] The tradition is that in ancient times the land was

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[1] These villages are situated in the Lasper Valley.

[2] [A similar belief is held by the Malays (Mahammadans) of Lower Siam and Pahang regarding the "Orang Parai" (Peris), and certain clay tablets of Buddhistic origin found in caves. See Steffen, *Man*, 1902, No. 125.—Ed.]

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*[See also p. 106 *antea*.—Ed.]

frequently visited by fairies who used to make these inscriptions, as in the opinion of the Chilasis it is beyond man's power to produce such inscriptions. It is also affirmed that these fairies were seen in those days by all men, but nowadays they are visible to no one except to a great Mullah by dint of his miracles. The Bagrot people say that the carvings were inscribed on stones by the fairies on the night of "Shino Bazono;" and that on the same night the fairies frequently used to rub away the figures from one stone and to engrave the same on another.

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The Ceremony of Sri Kun.

Sri Kun is said to be the sister of Nagi Sochemi, and lived at Shankank, a village near Godai in the District of Astore. The villagers used to present goats to this goddess and prayed before her seat for the supply of their wants. Her followers were strictly prohibited from keeping cows, or drinking their milk, and were under the impression that by so doing they were apt to lose their flocks, herds, or the produce of their lands.

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"Jainkish" and "Dewaro."

At Gilgit proper and in the surrounding villages there are seen two small tracts of land called "Jainkish" and "Dewaro." The former is situated on the river bank and the latter at the foot of a hill, except at some places in which they both are found at the foot of a hill. In ancient times, when Islam had not spread to these parts, the tribes used to burn the dead at "Jainkish," and a few days after they gathered and carried away the bones to "Dewaro," where they buried them in one pit. Remnants of bones still mark these places, though the traces have almost been obliterated by time. In these circumstances, however, one is not wrong in supposing that Muhammadanism is of recent growth.

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Several old men still living at Gilgit relate that they used to play with the brass bangles and rings which they found in "Jainkish;" but to carry away such articles to their houses was considered improper. From this it appears that the dead bodies were burnt with their ornaments.

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Sankar Village and a "Chinar" Tree.

There is a small populous village named Sankar in the Bagrot Valley. It is said that when this tract was lying waste, a Fakir named Shah Burya passed through and halted there for a short time. Becoming thirsty and finding no water, he prayed to God for a good supply. His prayer was granted, and a sufficient quantity of water burst forth from an adjacent hill. After a few days Shah Burya felt the heat of the sun, and planting his stick, which was of *chinar* wood, deep into the ground, prayed again to the Almighty to make it into a large *chinar* tree. This prayer was also granted, and a big tree grew, under whose shadow he afterwards used to sit. The branches of this tree are said to have been once so large and spreading that they touched the neighbouring hill about 600 yards distant, across the Bagrot Nullah. The tree was afterwards burnt by the Mongols, but after a short period five shoots sprang out from its trunk, and these are still to be seen, forming an enclosure about 30 yards wide.

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A Pearl Tree on the Deobani Mountain.

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On the east of Tashot, a village in the Bagrot Valley, there stands a snow-covered mountain called Deobani. The people say that there is a large pearl tree on its top, which is the property of the fairies and giants. A good mountaineer is said to have once reached its summit. Gathering a load of the pearls, he started down towards his home. But he was surprised to see a crowd of giants and fairies coming after him, and, being frightened by their approach, he thought it better to throw away all the pearls in order to save his life; he was surprised, however, to find that a fairy still followed him as far as his house. There he closed his door. While changing his clothes he found that a pearl was hidden in his shoes. The pearl was then thrown towards the fairy; she picked it up and disappeared. A similar story is related about Nanga Parbat, a mountain on the west of Astor.

Shangali Ween.

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At about two miles east of Danyore, a village about three miles east of Gilgit, there is seen on the northern side of the road leading to the Bagrot Valley a small piece of ground about one yard square surrounded by walls about three feet high. This place is called "Shangali Ween" (place of putting chain). It is said that there used to be a golden chain hanging in the air without any support. In ancient times, when any case was to be decided on oath, both the parties were carried there and each of them addressed the chain in the following manner: "O *Sojo Shangali* (sacred chain), whoever of us is sinful please accuse him by striking his neck; and the chain used miraculously to whirl round the neck of the man who was guilty. The man was then convicted and punished by the authorities according to law. No chain is now found at the spot, and the people relate an interesting story about its disappearance. They say that two men of the Bagrot Valley were once coming together to Gilgit: one of them had brought some gold with him which the other succeeded in stealing. Making a small hole in his stick, he put the gold secretly into it. The men, after a long quarrel about the lost gold, decided that the case should be settled by the Shangali. When they were entering the place, the guilty man gave his stick which contained the gold to the other, and they both began to beg before the Shangali, asking that, whichever of them had gold in his possession, he might be struck by the Shangali. The Shangali, who was aware of the trick, was much enraged at this attempt to deceive, and, considering itself offended, at once disappeared for ever without settling their case. The loser of gold was now very angry, and in a fit of his anger struck the stick on the walls of the enclosure. The stick broke and the lost gold was disclosed.

Nong and Chakrot Bari.

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Near Laos village in the Astor district there is a small fountain called Nong. The people consider it a sacred one and offer sacrifices at the place for the fulfilment of their wants. If owing to drought a loss of their crops is expected, or if for any other reason heavy rain is required, the people used to throw some unclean thing into the spring, such as the bone of a dog; it then began to rain, and continued until the object was taken out. Owing to the belief that the spring was sacred and, moreover, able

3: Muhammad G-3 (ca. 1900) 1907 AV3 Dard AV3

always nourished by human milk would certainly be better than that of an animal. Coming to this conclusion, he gave orders that a tax of human children should be levied in future instead of sheep, and that their meat should always be served at his dinner. In this way he became a man-eater. 539

The Capture of Gilgit by Skardu Chiefs; the Soul of Shri Badat and the "Talino" and "Nisalo" Ceremonies.

In the reign of Shri Badat, a Buddhist Chief of Gilgit, three princes named Khisrau, Jamshed and Shamsher, the sons of Azur, a chief of Skardu, are said to have arrived at Danyore, a village situated about four miles east of Gilgit at the junction of the Gilgit and Hunza rivers. They were the first Muhammadan chiefs who started from Skardu to conquer and subdue the hill States of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit. They had succeeded in capturing the two former States, and it was now the turn of Gilgit to fall into their hands. The people relate an interesting story about their arrival and their obtaining possession of the fertile tract of Gilgit proper. They say the princes were born of fairies and arrived at Danyore flying on wings from the lofty mountains where the fairies live. One day they saw a wild cow grazing on the "Danyore Khoh," a hill at about two miles distant from the place they were sitting. The elder brothers, Khisrau and Jamshed, requested the younger, Shamsher, to shoot the cow with his bow and arrow. Shamsher out of respect for his elder brothers said that he could not shoot first, but he was overruled and compelled to carry out the request. He then took up his bow and arrow and aiming at the cow shot her with such dexterity that her body was pierced by the arrow. The Danyore people were much surprised to see this skill of Shamsher, and ran away noisily to the hill to fetch the body. They found the animal lying half-dead of the wound caused by the arrow, which had penetrated the heart. The cow was brought to the village and placed before the princes, who ordered the liver to be roasted and served. When the meat was brought in, Khisrau and Jamshed remarked that it would be seemly on Shamsher's part to eat it himself, as it was the result of his skill. In vain did Shamsher try to make them join. He was thus obliged to eat it himself, but he had not taken more than three or four slices, when both his elder brothers took flight into the air and disappeared. Shamsher also tried his utmost to follow his brothers, but the meat just taken by him had worked such an effect on his body that he could not even rise a little above the surface of the earth, and reproaching himself with the deed which had caused his separation from his beloved but faithless brothers, he remained content to pass his future days in the village. The inhabitants of Danyore who had seen his marvellous act, considered him, on account of his being "fairy-born," of a race superior to their own, and always showed him much respect and obedience. After a lapse of some months he related to a large gathering of the villagers around him, that he had just seen a big markhor frolicking hither and thither on the Hapukor Mountain (above Naupur and Naikoo villages), and that he wished to shoot it at once with his arrow. They were very surprised to know that he had seen a markhor from a distance of more than four miles, and they would not have believed him had they not already experienced his miraculous power of sight on the occasion of his 173 [341] 776

539 776 173 shooting the cow, and had they not believed him to be fairy-born. They all therefore expressed their pleasure at his wish to shoot the markhor. Shamsher then aimed at his victim, and, shooting the arrow with all his might, cried out that he had killed the markhor, to the great joy of the villagers, many of whom expressed their wish to accompany him in fetching the dead animal. They went up the hill and the Naspur stream and found the markhor lying on the self-same spot that had been pointed out by Shamsher, and they all heartily congratulated him on his success. The sun was high and the day hot, and the men, who were tired, searched for and found a spring well shaded by trees. There they slept for a while. Miyo Khki Soni, a daughter of Shri Badat, used also to live on the same mountain near the spring, in order to pass the hot summer days. A maid-servant of hers happened to come there to fetch water, and was surprised to find that some strangers were sleeping near the spring. She returned at once and reported the matter to her mistress, who became very angry and ordered all her maid-servants to capture and bring them before her. This was done. Shamsher was a youth of handsome and comely appearance, and as soon as the princess saw him her rage fled, so that she forgot every angry word she had thought of as befitting the occasion, and very politely and amiably asked after his health and the cause of his coming up the mountain. She was so much struck and pleased with his refined behaviour and elegant manners that she at once exclaimed

"I might call thee a thing divine: for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble."

Shamsher asked for her permission to leave and go down the hill, but this was refused and the party was amiably invited to stay the night. They devoted much of their time to conversation, and Miyo Khki modestly showed her preference by listening to the stories of the prince's adventures and deeds of valour from his own lips. At last he gained a tender place in her heart. The moment was a critical one for Shamsher, who thanked her courteously for her favourable consideration and told her that the idea of her giving her hand to a foreigner like himself would prove a sorrow to all concerned when the news reached Shri Badat. These words were hard to bear, and the soft-hearted princess began to weep and fell down at his feet. This action of Miyo Khki produced a sudden effect on the heart of Shamsher, who feeling for her unbearable grief, lifted her up from his feet and gently consented to their union, in spite of the fate that might await them at her father's hand. The princess was pleased beyond expression, and her subsequent devotion is a proof of her feelings. She ordered all her maid-servants to appear, and explained to them her desire. She also informed them how dear she was to Shri Badat and that this would cause him to listen to her appeal. But if any of them should tell the news, she must consider her life as at an end, and her property confiscated. They all trembled at the words of their mistress, and with due respect expressed themselves to the effect that her happiness was their heartfelt desire, and that they were extremely glad to know of this selection; and they promised that nobody else should hear a word about this engagement from their mouths. The marriage ceremonies were secretly performed on the same night, and Miyo Khki was, some people say, named Sakina, but according to others her name became Nur Bakht. Next morning Shamsher allowed his Daryni

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companions to go down to their village, with instructions to keep what they had seen a secret. Shamsher became filled with the desire to make himself ruler of Gilgit, and began to instigate his wife to murder her father and to raise the Dasyori people secretly against him. Sabina, whose passions had mastered her sense of duty, prepared to take her father's life for the sake of her beloved stranger. Shri Badat, being the descendant of giants, had no fear of being attacked by sword or arrow, as these weapons had no effect on his body, and no one knew what his soul was made of. The first thing therefore for Shamsher to inquire was the secret of his soul. So, on a certain day, in order to gratify this desire, and to prove the trust his wife had in him, he promised that as soon as the leaves of a certain tree should decay and become yellow, she should no more see her father. It happened that the leaves of the tree decayed much earlier than usual, and Sabina, thinking that it meant the death of her father, went down the hill lamenting; but she was much surprised to find that he was still alive. She related to her father that a few days ago a certain *fakir* had gone up the hill and had foretold that as soon as the leaves of a certain tree should turn yellow she should unfortunately find herself an orphan. On this day the leaves of the tree had turned yellow, and, considering this an ill-omen, her filial love had caused her to present herself at his feet, but she thanked God it was not so, and that the *fakir's* statement had proved false. Shri Badat said in reply, "O my affectionate daughter, nobody in the world can kill me, as no one knows of what my soul is made. How can it be injured until someone knows its nature? It is beyond a man's power to inflict harm on my body." Sabina said that her happiness depended on his life and safety. As she was dearest to him in the world, he should have no hesitation in informing her of the secret of his soul. She would, moreover, be able to forestall any unfavourable omens, and to show her filial love by devoting her life to the safety of her kind father. He used much *finesse* in turning the topic of conversation, and made many pretences in order to keep his secret from his daughter, in spite of her pertinacity. His paternal love at last compelled him to grant her wishes, and he informed her that his soul was made of *ghi* (butter), a substance which cannot be melted without much heat; and that whenever she should see a large fire burning in or around his fort, she must consider it the last day of his life. But he did not know that he was putting his life in danger by confiding in a weak-hearted woman, who was being used to take his life. Miyo Khki passed a few days with her father and then went up to her hill-abode, where she found her beloved Shamsher anxiously awaiting her arrival. To him she related her conversation with Shri Badat. He was extremely glad to receive this description of Shri Badat's soul, as he was prepared to spare no pains in taking his life. The information acquired now led him to think of the speedy fulfilment of his hopes. He is said to have sent for his Dasyori companions secretly, who had accompanied him to the hill, and whose loyalty was unquestionable, since they believed him to be born of a fairy. The cruelty of Shri Badat knew no bounds, so that he had earned the title of man-eater; and his subjects were already looking for an opportunity of getting rid of the tyrant in order to save the lives of their innocent children. In a few words therefore Shamsher won the Dasyore men's approval of the plot against the life of Shri Badat, adding that he was now master of the secret of their ruler's

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soul. They agreed to lend a helping hand to Shamsher and to raise the subjects secretly against their merciless chief. On finding that the majority of the people had joined him, Shamsher fixed a date for accomplishing the deed by burning a large fire late at night round the fort of Shri Badat. A few days before the appointed day, he sent down Sakina to her father with instructions to keep the secret, while he himself went down to Danyore village to make his preparations. At about 3 A.M. on the night appointed for the purpose, all the people turned out of their homes with torches in their hands and a quantity of wood. Shri Badat's fort was situated about 200 yards east of the present Gilgit polo-ground on the site of the houses of the Bāirai family. The people were still some way from the fort when Shri Badat's spirit began to feel uneasy. He therefore asked his daughter to go out and see what was the cause of his restlessness. This undutiful and faithless woman, who had a perfect knowledge of the conspiracy, went out and returned after some delay, in order to let the people come closer, and said that there was nothing to be feared outside the fort. But Shri Badat's increasing uneasiness brought him out of his room. He found himself in a very awkward position, having by this time been surrounded by the enemy, who had succeeded in planting large fires round the fort. In this predicament he had no time to consider the necessity of punishing his wicked daughter, but at once jumped up in the air and took wing towards Chotur Khan, a snowy tract in the Ishkoman Valley. He is said to have rested at Yashpur (a deserted village near about 12 miles west of Gilgit) Hinzil, where he requested somebody to bring him a cup of cold water. The village had a plentiful produce of grapes, and the inhabitants used to make wine from them. The man therefore brought out a cup of wine to Shri Badat, who refused, saying angrily that, seeing that he had come there after having escaped from a fire which had done great injury to his soul, it was improper for the man to give him wine instead of cold water, which was what he had asked for. But none would bring him water, and, being thus dissatisfied with the treatment of the villagers, he cursed the place, saying that it would be totally ruined and laid waste, so as to produce no grapes again. It happened in the following year that the glacier which afforded a supply of water for the village melted away, thus effectually destroying the village cultivation forever. From Yashpur Shri Badat went to Chotur Khan and hid himself there under a big glacier, where he is still said to have his abode. The people have a firm belief that he will re-appear at Gilgit to renew his rule over them with redoubled fury. Being afraid of his regaining the kingdom, the people are in the habit of burning big fires in their homes throughout the night of the anniversary in November on which Shri Badat was driven from Gilgit, in order to keep away his ghost if it return. On this night no one ventures to sleep, but to while away the time they are in the habit of dancing and singing round the big fires. This ceremony is called "Talino." There is, however, a family of Kulchins (the kitchen servants of Shri Badat) who do not take part in the performance of the ceremony; for they are still loyal and faithful to their master, and are still desirous of his returning to his own. This is the only family now residing at Gilgit who are well-wishers of Shri Badat. It is curious that they should have escaped injury at the hands of the opposite party.

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2 [i.e. Shri Badat. See CAT. 116 pp. 114-113---ANALYST]

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military service in time of war. It also gives three hostages for good conduct, who are changed periodically. The people of Gor claim to have been Mussulmans for only three generations, and are all Soonnees.

There are three forts in Gor, named Loosonotkot, Doolotkot, and Tunelkot. The people of Gor have always been friendly with Chilas. At present Gor is noted in the Kohistan for the good quality of the wool it produces. The tradition is still preserved of the god Taiban, who was the tutelary deity of Gor, and whose worship was continued to a very recent date. A rude sculpture of a horse still exists, which is named "Taiban's horse." Even now Taiban is invoked occasionally as a witness of a solemn covenant. Along the river, at intervals the whole way from Gor to Seo, are said to be a number of ancient rock inscriptions.

A few miles above Gor the small detached village of Thalich forms the extreme limit of Yaghestan, consisting only of 11 houses: it forms, as Mr. Drew observes, the smallest of independent communities. The people of Thalich make common cause with those of Chilas, of whom they are an offshoot, and are protected by them against more powerful enemies.

Above Herbund, on the left bank, is the large community of Chilas, which embraces six valleys. The principal villages are Tor, 200 houses; Chilas, 140 houses; Geen, 5 houses; Takk, 80 houses; and Booner, 60 houses. Chilas can furnish about 1,500 fighting men, without counting a number of immigrants from other communities who have lately settled in the country. Roads lead from Khaghan in the Hazara country by the Babusar Pass to the Indus in seven days, and from Shardi in the Kishengunga Valley by the Shotô Pass in five days. There is also a road from Astor by the Mazenoo Pass, only practicable at any time for men on foot, and closed in winter, by which Booner is reached in four days. The road up the Indus from Chilas is difficult and almost impassable even for men on foot. This difficulty of access has given the Chilasis a spirit of independence, and a distinctive character among all the Kohistan communities. Though but comparatively recent converts to Islam, they are bigoted and fanatical beyond all other Dards, owing, it is said, to Chilas having been at all times a favourite resort of Moollahs from Swat. Being Soonnees, every Shiah who falls into their hands is put to death without being reserved for the usual alternative of slavery. The whole community can muster 3,000 men capable of bearing arms, and have at all times borne a high reputation for bravery.

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D 805 D [178] The ordinary Mahommedan calendar is, however, coming into use, especially among the Ashimadek class. The days of the week are named according to the Mahommedan calendar, except that Friday is named Adinna.

In Bushkar and Torwal, the Mahommedan calendar is followed. In the latter place the ordinary names are preserved, in the former the months are named—

Hussan Hoosein.	Sooepi (*Great month*).
Safar.	Shokudder.
Purum ishpo (*First sister*).	Roz.
Dowim ishpo (*Second sister*).	Lokyūl (*Small festival*).
Tlooi ishpo (*Third sister*).	Miâna (*Intervening*).
Chot ishpo (*Fourth sister*).	Gânyūl (*Great festival*).

D B 821 The constellation of the Great Bear is called "the maiden's corpse," the four corner stars being supposed to represent a bier: the small star above the middle star of the tail is called the "star of life," as it is supposed to be invisible to a person forty days before death. The pleiades are called the flock of sheep; a comet, "the star with a tail," is supposed to portend the death of a king. The milky way is called the "track of the cow and horse," the tradition being that in the broad part about the middle the horse fell down from going too fast, while the cow travelled safely. The world is supposed to rest on the horns of a cow, which shakes its head occasionally at the sins of the inhabitants, and so causes earthquakes.

D B 776 The west and south are always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talks of going up to it. Fairies and demons that live in caves among the mountains or in desert places, have a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Dr. Leitner has already given an account of the Yetch and its female counterpart the Rooé. In Boorishki they are known as Phoot and Billuss. Madness is supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Demons assume the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they are recognisable by their feet being turned backwards.

D B 776 787 784 In Gilgit, Hunza, and Nager the ruler's family is supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodeni drum, is always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it is heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presages good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction

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Burusho Av 7.

when the drum is heard; if he did so, some evil would be certain to happen to the daring individual, the least he could expect would be that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition undertaken without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.

Trial by appeal to the ordeal of fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the spot appointed seven paces distant, and should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. The Vakeel of the Thum of Hunza on one occasion offered to subject himself to the ordeal before me, in order to clear his master of a false accusation.

Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and many individuals are credited with the power of exercising magical arts. The rulers of Hunza and Nager are credited by their subjects with the power of producing rain. During a very severe winter I captured a full-grown markhor, which had wandered during the night into the cultivated land. The occurrence being unusual, the animal was at once regarded as a *jin*, and a deputation came to me shortly after it was captured, asking me to release it lest it should bring misfortune on the place. The death of the Wuzeer, which happened unexpectedly a few days afterwards, is still ascribed to the occurrence. Written charms are in great request, and every person wears one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand are charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms are also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is placed in them. This seems to have been an old and widely-spread superstition. Baber mentions it in his memoirs. "Some books mention that in Ghazni there is a fountain, into which if any filth or ordure be thrown, immediately there rises a tempest and hurricane with snow and rain."[1] The same is mentioned by another writer.[2] "Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring into which if a mixture of ordure should be thrown, the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful

[1] Baber's Memoirs by Erskine, p. 149. [2] Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 16.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

T D 174 614

(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

T D 174 197 782 [776]

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལུ་སྐྱབས་སུ།
ཤུག་པོ་ཆ་སྐྱབས་སུ་སྐྱབས་སུ།
ངས་གྲུ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལུ་སྐྱབས་སུ།།

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

487 gave but just room for a horse to move along its face. We crossed a succession of great bowl-shaped
133 bays in the hills, several miles across from side to side, cut up by deep ravines, the whole bed of the saucer one mass of cultivation wherever water could be brought to bear. The outlet for the streams which drain these bays into the main river below is generally through a narrow gorge hundreds of feet deep, with walls so precipitous and fall so rapid that no regularly made path can be taken along it. The Chitralis averred that no man had ever succeeded in getting through one particular gorge.

538 We struck a vein of folk-lore which I should have
776 loved to explore, but I had no time to work it properly, and for really satisfactory results the enquirer must talk the language of the country, which I could not. We were sitting one night after dinner by our camp fire, looking across the valley at the dim form of Tirich Mir, rising ghostly and white in the pale moonlight, when one of our hosts casually mentioned the existence of a lake at the foot of the great mountain by the side of which are the flat stones on which the fairies wash their cloths. Readers need hardly be reminded of the Continental and Eastern habit of beating linen on a flat stone. You could also, he said, find their rice-pounding stones there in great numbers; these must be the round pot holes found in the rocks of all glacier streams, but what the washing-boards were I could not make out, and the lake was unfortunately miles away, so that time could not be spared to explore.

The conversation so begun gave rise to much talk about the fairies. We were told that they

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

538 were heard to sing or wail round the towers of
776 Shoghot Fort ten or twelve days before one of the ruling family died, and this led to the information that the present Mehtar's great-grandfather had married a fairy, having been a master of the lore which gives command over them. The king and his fairy bride lived on for years as husband and wife without any one knowing it, as he was in the habit of going to Gairat, a village seven miles below Chitral, where the fairies from Tirich Mir assemble every Friday night to say their prayers, and meeting her there. This place is still used by the fairies for their devotions, which take place at a spot marked by a large flat stone. No one will go shikaring there alone, and my informant, who was once belated, and had to spend the night close to the spot with a single companion, heard the ghostly call to prayer, and the air full of the voices of a great multitude talking Chitrali. The union of the old king with the fairy was blessed with one daughter, and she, though a very old woman now, has continued to take an interest in the fortunes of the royal family, and warns them of the approaching death of any member by the sounds heard at Shoghot. Many men had seen her, notably a man still living at Owir, with whom we were promised an interview which unluckily did not come off.

Those who have seen the fairies, and a couple of years before a large number of them were seen by many of the inhabitants of the valley, flying through the air to Tirich Mir, some on horseback and some on foot, describe them as exactly like

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

men and women, but very beautiful, and dressed mostly in white. Their only peculiarity seems to be that they have no knee or ankle joints, and that the toes of their feet point to the rear, the heel being to the front. This by the way must be inconvenient when riding. They occasionally carry off men for ten days or so, and treat them well. The man at Owir, who was carried off, lived with them for ten days, and saw the old king's fairy daughter. He reports having seen very large numbers of fairies, and that he was pressed to marry by them, but on his refusing was returned to his home. They appear never to do any one good, and to distribute their thievish tricks and the harm they do indiscriminately among the righteous and the evil-doers. 538 776

Asked what the fairies subsisted on, our informant explained that if any man lied about the amount he had harvested, and told his neighbour that he had only ten sacks of grain when he really had garnered twenty, the fairies took the balance, and left him with what he professed to have harvested. He had never heard of their doing any harm to cows, but said they undoubtedly rode the horses at night, and that if a man had done his horse's mane up nicely, he was likely to find him in the morning completely tired out, and with the mane tangled, knotted, or plaited. I could not quite make out which, or whether the knotting the mane corresponded with our "witches' stirrups." He also told us of a man living at a village above Chitral who had gone out shooting, and shot at and wounded an ibex, which escaped. A few days

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

538 after a man of the village, who is lame to this
776 day, came up and asked why he had shot him, and on the sportsman denying it, and saying he had only shot at an ibex, the lame man, who is known to be an expert in fairy lore, said, "I was the ibex."

We then unfortunately asked about their religion, and here got away from folk-lore proper to the made-up stories of the wizard, for we were told that those skilled in fairy art said the fairies were of all religions, Mahomedans who worship at Gairat, and who have Mullahs like terrestrial Mahomedans, Hindoos, and others. What the latter worshipped we could not discover. The fairies, we learnt, are at great enmity with the demons, whom they very much fear.

The principal harm they do is to deprive people of their senses and to carry them off. They occasionally make themselves obnoxious by infesting a village. Lately a fairy had taken possession of one, and had wounded several people by throwing
[789] stones at them. No one was killed, but the fairy made it especially unpleasant for any one opening any closed box in a house, and finally the nuisance became so great that the Mehtar was appealed to. He called in the help of a wise man who exorcised the fairy, and no further harm was done.

The whole of the above was got from our informant without asking a single leading question, except that I asked him if ever the fairies rode people's horses, but his answer was so ready and detailed that it could hardly have been made up at the moment. Everything he told us was said

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

with an air of conviction, and as if talking of an everyday matter: it was a most delightful experience, and I only wished I could take down the conversation in shorthand, for much of the detail must have been lost. Belief in fairies is universal in the Hindu-Kush, and, for the matter of that, in one form or another throughout the East.

A travelled and well-educated Kashmiri with us was with the greatest difficulty repressed during our talk; he was always wanting to break in with some Kashmiri variation, civilised and thereby ruined, of these local tales. The next day took us to Owir, where we camped at a height of ten thousand feet, having ridden up five thousand feet, and crossed at sixteen thousand a razor-back pass between the two valleys. It was beginning to be very cold, and we enjoyed making the descent on foot, plunging straight down the shaley slopes.

The sandstone strata at the top of the valley seemed full of fossils. I picked up a couple of large ones, some convoluted shell, but, unfortunately, my orderlies did not understand that I attached any importance to them, and they were lost. There is but one drawback to a march such as we were making, and that is the time limit. You pass many things of interest which you cannot visit; you are constantly tantalised by a half glimpse of some beauty or curiosity which you pass with a sigh, knowing that you will never have the chance of seeing it again. I longed to stop and dig, and to hunt for fossils here, as I had longed to explore the Buddhist topes on the road, or to spend days trying to get at the folk-lore, but the fates drove us on.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

CHAPTER VIII

FOLK-LORE AND SPORT

788 THE folk-lore and the festivals are most interesting, but for want of time I could not follow up the researches I should have loved to make. Vestiges of dead faiths meet you at every turn. Fires blaze at certain seasons on the hill-sides and on the mountain top, and remind you that what we call fire-worship originated but a stone's-throw to the north on the 778 other side of the Hindu-Kush. The cedar, sacred in [776] Kafiristan, and still exported to India for Hindu ceremonials, is sacred here; outside every village almost is a stone altar yet visited by the women, the names of the village gods are remembered, often surreptitiously invoked, and soothsayers and witch- 789 craft abound. Some little distance up the Chaprot nulla is a clear spring of water, and if a piece of cowskin is thrown into this, by order of the Thum of Hunza, to the accompaniment of suitable incantations, the heavens are immediately obscured with clouds, and the most dreadful storms rage over the district, to the terror and danger of the obnoxious wayfarer or invader. I was solemnly warned on more than one occasion against this particular power for evil possessed by

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard A V3

"Chili" or cedar worship, and of the Shin feast of sowing synchronised, and the two thus became welded together. The connection now is limited to a certain amount of wheat being smoked over a cedar wood fire, and of cedar twigs being in use next day when the sowing takes place. From a portion of the smoked grain a large unleavened bannock is made overnight, which is carried before the Rá or Chief of Gilgit when he rides out next morning to the sowing. Arrived on the selected ground the headman of the village holds up to the Rá the skirt of his choga full of the smoked grain, and into this the Rá throws small quantities of gold dust. The golden grain is then scattered amongst the circle of villagers, the ceremony being repeated till the grain has been thrown to all four points of the compass. The Rá then dismounts, a plough is brought, and, taking the handles, the Chief draws two furrows, one running east, the second west, and over these he again scatters the golden seed. A goat is then sacrificed, the drums strike up, and the Rá rides off, the rest of the day being one of continuous feasting, polo-playing, drumming, and dancing.

There are many other festivals, almost all connected with agriculture; spring-time and harvest, autumn and winter, are all marked by appropriate feasts. The Yudeni drum, or fairy's drum, which was kept on the top of every Chief's castle, played a part in the ancient ceremonies. It was very unlucky to look towards it while the sounds rang out; if the fairy drummer was seen, the direst calamities followed. I never to my knowledge heard the fairy drum myself, but no feast in the old days was complete

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

without its note, no warlike expedition could be expected to succeed which started without the fairy approval. But if I never heard the fairy drum, I have seen what few will ever have the chance of seeing again, the Dainyal, the diviner or soothsayer inspired by the fairies. Dainyals are usually women, but men sometimes become possessed, and the seers are seemingly of all ages. The one I saw was a buxom married village girl of about twenty, held in great estimation in the village and district on account of her supernatural powers, and ruling her household with a rod of iron.

I had ridden up the Bagrot valley, down which a stream from the southern glaciers of Rakapushi reaches the Gilgit river, in order to see what could be done to improve the water channels, which were carried along very difficult cliffs, and which the people only kept in even partial repair with the greatest labour. It was a melancholy ride. The valley had been raided years ago by the Yasin ruler, and some two-thirds of the population carried off into slavery or killed, and the traces of the tragedy were recognisable on all sides. At the mouth of the Bagrot valley lay hundreds of acres of land gone out of cultivation, the terraced fields and the raised irrigation channels still intact, their lichen-grown and sunburnt stones showing that water had not run over them for decades. Further up the valley half, and sometimes two-thirds, of the village land lay in the same state, the dead and gone vineyards easily recognisable by the small stone vats, which had once run full of foaming must; the flat stones above them, on which the grapes had been trodden out, and the little stone runnels, through which the juice had poured, were still in their places.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

matter even for that most handy of creatures, the Royal Engineer, however well he may be equipped. For the poor villager it is a labour of Sisyphus. The stream is always cutting away a frail prop, undermining a high retaining wall, breaking the side of the water channel, or washing away the intake headworks, and the work has to be done all over again. Truly, the people compelled one's admiration by their steadfast patience and determination, and filled one with a desire to help them in every way in their desperate fight with nature.

As I passed through a stretch of abandoned cultivation given up to the barberry, the wild pomegranate, and the brier rose, we stumbled on a time-worn altar, the stones of which attested its great age. It was covered with a few cedar boughs, others lay scattered around as the wind had displaced them, and the men with me said it was the shrine of the village god, and that these were the offerings of women who had come to pray. It was a scene which made a vivid impression on me. Far away above us, the culminating point of the valley, rose a snow peak against a bright blue sky, open hillsides fell back on each hand, swept by a fresh spring wind, patches of bright cultivation lay across the stream whose voice rose from the gorge to our left, but no house marred the view. Before us, backed by the silent terraced fields of a dead generation, lay the little altar of a dead faith. And yet one felt it was not dead; the great god Pan laid his hand upon one's heart, all nature was filled by his presence, and one felt the impulse which brought the women there to offer their humble

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

sacrifice to the living god of the stream and the hillside rather than turn to the cold deity of Mahomedanism, so essentially the god for men, and not for women. I replaced the scattered boughs, and invoked peace and prosperity on the stricken valley.

Above the village where we were camped was a conical hill inhabited by the local fairies. It is easy to realise how certain their existence is to the people. It always seems to me that it is only in the heart of the great mountains, thousands of feet above the last trace of human habitation, when you lie by some time-worn rock, lulled by a silence which can be felt, and gazing at the eternal snows, that the real voice of Nature speaks to you. Then truly do the heavens declare the glory of God; you feel the pulse of the All-pervading Presence, the beauty and sublimity of Nature sink into your soul, and for the moment the mysterious veil which falls between us and the light wavers and half fades away. If Nature so speaks to us what must she say to men and children who spend days and weeks of absolute solitude on the mountain sides. A simple mountain people must have a simple faith, must bow to visible and tangible deities, not to abstract objects of pious belief. It needs the pure clear skies of the desert to produce a race which can recognise that "there is no god but God," centuries of high civilisation working on the acute and introspective Indo-Aryan mind are required to produce the Buddha. The gods of the valley and the mountain, of the mist and forest, the dwellers in the glacier and the